

UNCLASSIFIED  
Department of State

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ACTION PA-02

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5747

UNCLAS SECTION 09 OF 10 MOSCOW 04061

STATE FOR PA AND PA/PRESS

E O 1.354 H 4  
PAGE: OVER SHULTZ, GEORGE P  
SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT

A. WELL, MY FEELING IS THAT GENEVA IS ABOUT A WEEK  
OFF. THEN THEY WILL HAVE TO WORK THAT, AND WE HOPE  
THE AFGHANS CAN WORK ON THESE OTHER PROBLEMS. THE  
ISSUE ONLY ARISES WHEN THE GENEVA ISSUES ARE NAILED  
DOWN. THAT IS A WEEK OR TWO OFF

Q. DO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THESE FORMAL GROUPS AND  
THESE REGULAR SESSIONS IMPLY ANY RECOGNITION ON THE  
PART OF THE SOVIET UNION THAT THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS  
BEHAVIOR IS A LEGITIMATE SOURCE OF CONTINUING  
CONCERN TO THE UNITED STATES?

A. YES.

Q. AND IS THAT NEW?

A. IT HAS EVOLVED DURING THE LAST YEAR IN TERMS OF  
SIMPLY RECOGNIZING THAT. THE WAY WE HAVE DISCUSSED  
IT IS AS FOLLOWS: THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT HAS PUT  
THAT PARTICULAR SET OF ISSUES ON THE INTERNATIONAL  
AGENDA AS AN APPROPRIATE ITEM TO BE DISCUSSED AMONG  
US. WHAT WE HAVE SAID IS THAT WE DISCUSS  
DEVELOPMENTS IN YOUR COUNTRY, AND YOU CERTAINLY  
HAVE A RIGHT TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR COUNTRY  
THAT FALL WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE HELSINKI FINAL  
ACT. IN EACH INSTANCE, OBVIOUSLY AS SOVEREIGN  
COUNTRIES, EACH OF US ULTIMATELY HAS TO MAKE OUR  
OWN DECISIONS AS TO WHAT IT IS THAT WE ARE GOING TO  
BE DOING. IT IS NOT GOING TO BE PART OF THE TREATY  
BEYOND WHAT IT IS NOW, WHICH IS WITHIN THE CONFINES  
OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

Q. MR. AMBASSADOR, THESE VISITS THAT THE SECRETARY  
TALKED ABOUT--THE PSYCHIATRISTS, I THINK HE SAID  
LAWYERS AND JURISTS--IS THIS NOW A VERY FORMAL  
PROCESS, WHERE, LIKE IN THE BILATERAL TALKS, YOU  
ARE GOING TO EXCHANGE FIRM GROUPS ON THIS? THIS IS  
A SET DEAL?

A. LET ME JUST EXPLAIN. BACK IN NOVEMBER THEY  
OFFERED A SET OF PROPOSALS ALONG THESE LINES. WHAT  
HAPPENED AT THIS SESSION IS THAT WE ACCEPTED THESE  
PROPOSALS AND SAID, 'LET'S GET DOWN TO THE BUSINESS  
OF WORKING OUT THE DETAILS.' AND WE SIMPLY DECIDED  
TO WORK OUT THE FIRST SET OF DETAILS IN TERMS OF A  
MEETING STARTING ON MARCH 18.

Q. AND WHAT WILL THEY BE, PLEASE?

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A. THAT IS GOING TO BE ON WHAT WE WOULD CONSIDER  
CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE FIRST INSTANCE--THE FIRST  
AMENDMENT RIGHTS AND COMMITMENTS TO MENTAL  
HOSPITALS.

Q. ARE THE EXPERTS COMING HERE, OR ARE THEIR  
EXPERTS GOING THERE?

A. COMING TO WASHINGTON.

Q. ON THE OTHER REGIONAL ISSUES, ANGOLA,  
KAMPUCHEA--UNLESS I HAVE LEFT SOME OTHERS OUT--DO  
YOU SENSE ANY MOVEMENT OR ANY NEW DIRECTIONS COMING  
FROM THE SOVIET SIDE?

A. ON BOTH THE ISSUES THERE WAS A COMMON  
PERCEPTION THAT THINGS WERE STIRRING A LITTLE BIT  
MORE THAN THEY HAVE DONE, AND THEREFORE WE WILL  
HAVE SOME FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSIONS AT THE EXPERTS  
LEVEL, AT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL I EXPECT  
WE HAVE NOT SET DATES, BUT I WOULD EXPECT THOSE  
WOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE NEXT MONTH OR SO. BEFORE  
THE NEXT MINISTERIAL I WOULD EXPECT.

Q. COULD I AMPLIFY, OR ASK SOMEONE TO AMPLIFY ON  
HIS LAST ANSWER ABOUT AFGHANISTAN? IT SOUNDS AS  
THOUGH YOU ARE SAYING THAT THERE IS SOME KIND OF  
CONSENSUS ABOUT GENEVA TO DEAL WITH THE SPECIFICS  
SUCH AS THE TIMETABLE AND THESE OTHER THINGS, THE  
ADVISORS AND OTHER ISSUES. THEN AFTER THAT HAS  
BEEN DONE, WE WILL SEE WHERE THE AFGHANS ARE IN THE  
INTERIM GOVERNMENT DEAL AND GO FROM THERE. IS THAT  
A CORRECT READING OF WHAT YOU ARE SAYING TO US?

A. WELL, IT IS THE PAKISTANIS WHO HAVE RAISED THIS  
ISSUE. THE QUESTION SHOULD BE, ARE THEIR CONCERNS  
SATISFIED SO THAT THEY WOULD GO AHEAD AND SIGN IN

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5739

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 10 MOSCOW 04061

STATE FOR PA AND PA/PRESS

E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)  
SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT

1. FOLLOWING IS THE UNCLEARED AND UNEDITED TRANSCRIPT OF FEBRUARY 22, 1988 BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING FOR U.S. PRESS BY SENIOR U.S. OFFICIALS ACCOMPANYING SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW. THE TEXT IS NOT AVAILABLE FOR RELEASE UNTIL AUTHORIZED BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY REDMAN'S OFFICE.

2. BACKGROUND PARTICIPANTS: ASSISTANT SECRETARY CHARLES REDMAN, UNDER SECRETARY MICHAEL ARMACOST, COUNSELOR MAX KAMPELMAN, SPECIAL ADVISOR PAUL NITZE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROZANNE RIDGWAY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY RICHARD SCHIFTER.

3. BEGIN TEXT:

Q. WHY DON'T WE BEGIN WITH AFGHANISTAN AND GET THAT OUT OF THE WAY IF WE CAN. THE SECRETARY'S REMARKS SEEMED FAIRLY POSITIVE, YOU MUST HAVE HEARD SOME POSITIVE THINGS. CAN YOU TELL US SORT OF THE TEXTURE, PARTICULARLY OF THE GORBACHEV ENCOUNTER.

Q. MAY I INTERRUPT BY SAYING THAT MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THIS IS ALL BACKGROUNDER, IS THAT ACCURATE?

A. YES.

Q. ALL THE MEETINGS WERE MARKED BY STATEMENTS OF ABSOLUTE CONVICTION THAT A FIRM DECISION HAD BEEN MADE TO PULL OUT AND THAT AFFIRMATION HAD BEEN REINFORCED BY THE STATEMENT ON FEBRUARY 8 THAT INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO SET A DATE FOR THE COMMENCEMENT OF WITHDRAWAL, A COMPLETION DATE AND INDICATED IN PRINCIPLE A WILLINGNESS TO FRONT-LOAD THE WITHDRAWAL SUBSTANTIALLY. WE DID NOT OBTAIN A LOT OF DETAILS ABOUT THE SUBJECTS THAT WILL BE NEGOTIATED IN GENEVA, I THINK FOR THE UNDERSTANDABLE REASON THAT SINCE THOSE ARE THE SUBJECTS OF NEGOTIATIONS AMONG OTHER COUNTRIES, THOSE WILL BE WITHHELD FOR THE GENEVA PROCESS. BUT I THINK WE ALL LEFT WITH THE CONVICTION THAT THEY ARE ABSOLUTELY SERIOUS. I THINK THAT DERIVES FROM THE SITUATION ON THE GROUND AND THEIR RECOGNITION OF THE BENEFITS TO THEIR WORLD POSITION TO UPHOLD LIQUIDATING THIS INVOLVEMENT, AND I THINK WE SHARE THEIR HOPES THAT THE GENEVA ROUND THAT STARTS ON MARCH 2 WILL BE THE LAST. THAT IS WHERE THE DETAILS WILL EMERGE.

Q. THEY DIDN'T GIVE YOU ANY PERCENTAGES OF TROOPS

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TO BE WITHDRAWN IN THE FIRST FEW MONTHS?

A. WE DID NOT GET THOSE KIND OF DETAILS, AS THEY CONSIDER THOSE APPROPRIATE FOR NEGOTIATION IN

GENEVA.

Q. WAS THERE ANY SOVIET MOVEMENT ON A CUTOFF DATE ON MILITARY AID TO THE AFGHAN ARMY?

A. I THINK THAT AS WELL IS SOMETHING THAT WILL HAVE TO EMERGE. THEY CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND OUR CONCERNS ON THIS SCORE.

Q. WHERE DO WE STAND ON THE SUBJECT OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT BEFORE A SIGNATURE?

A. I THINK ON THAT THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE OF VIEW BETWEEN ALL THE PARTIES THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS THAT ENJOYED BROADER POPULAR BACKING COULD BE ARRANGED. THE QUESTIONS RELATE TO THE EFFICACY OF THAT IN THE RELATIVELY SHORT TERM, BUT I DID NOT DETECT IN ANYTHING I HEARD, ANY DOUBT AMONG THE RUSSIANS THAT THEY WOULD WELCOME PROGRESS ON THAT, BUT THEY DON'T REGARD IT AS THEIR RESPONSIBILITY OR THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ANY OUTSIDERS. I MUST SAY THAT IS A SOUND PRINCIPLE. AFGHANS WILL HAVE TO DETERMINE THOSE MATTERS, AND WHETHER OR NOT THEY MAKE THE KIND OF PROGRESS NEEDED IN THE WEEKS AHEAD IS STILL AN OPEN

QUESTION.

Q. WHY, IF AT ALL, DO YOU FEEL THAT THE DISCUSSIONS, WITH RESPECT TO AFGHANISTAN OR WITH RESPECT TO THE PERSIAN GULF, ADVANCED THE SITUATION

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STATE FOR PA AND PA/PRESS

E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP (MULTZ, GEORGE P.)  
SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT

FROM WHEN YOU CAME HERE TWO DAYS AGO?

A. WELL, I THINK IT IS ALWAYS HELPFUL TO HAVE VERY DETAILED--AND THESE WERE QUITE DETAILED--CANDID EXPRESSIONS OF VIEW AND I THINK THOSE GOT REFLECTED IN THE ACTIONS OF THE PARTIES. I CERTAINLY FELT LISTENING TO THIS DISCUSSION THAT THE SOVIETS RECOGNIZE THAT IF THEY ARE ABLE TO MANAGE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR FORCES EFFECTIVELY THEN THAT CAN HAVE HELPFUL SPIN-OFF ON SOME OTHER REGIONAL ISSUES. ON THE PERSIAN GULF, AS WELL, WE HAD QUITE DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THAT. WE HAVE TOSSED AROUND SOME IDEAS. THAT ISSUE, AS WELL, IS ONE THAT CAN'T BE RESOLVED--NOR CAN ANY OF THESE REGIONAL ISSUES--THROUGH BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND OURSELVES. FOLLOW-THROUGH WILL DEPEND ON CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH A NUMBER OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND FOR THAT REASON, THE SECRETARY--I THINK DID NOT WANT TO GO MUCH FURTHER--AND I DON'T WISH TO GO FURTHER EITHER. WE WILL LEAVE WITH THE HOPE THAT SOME THINGS MAY BECOME POSSIBLE.

Q. WHAT WILL YOU DO NOW IN THE UNITED NATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THESE DISCUSSIONS? DO YOU ANTICIPATE THAT BETWEEN NOW AND THE END OF THE MONTH WHEN THE U.S. IS NO LONGER PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT THIS WILL BE BROUGHT TO A VOTE?

A. I DON'T KNOW THAT, BUT WE WILL INTENSIFY FURTHER OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHERS UP IN NEW YORK DURING THE REMAINING TIME OF OUR PRESIDENCY. NEEDLESS TO SAY, WE CAN STILL BRING THINGS TO A VOTE AT A LATER STAGE. IT HELPS TO BE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, BUT PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT PRESIDENT CAN OBVIOUSLY BRING THINGS TO A VOTE THERE.

Q. DID THE SOVIETS SAY THEY WERE STILL NOT QUITE READY TO DO THIS?

A. THEY ARE LOOKING AT IT FROM A NUMBER OF ANGLES. I THINK IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY ARE PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEVELOPMENTS IN THE GULF AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON THE GULF AND THE AFGHAN ISSUE. BUT I SENSED A SERIOUSNESS ON THEIR PART FOR LOOKING AT THIS ISSUE. WE WILL CONSULT FURTHER WITH THEM.

Q. ARE YOU SAYING AT ALL THAT IF THEY PULLED OUT OF AFGHANISTAN THIS WOULD BE ONE LESS IRRITANT WITH THE IRANIANS, WHO OF COURSE HAVE BEEN WANTING THEM

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TO PULL OUT OF THERE; THEREFORE THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO GO ALONG WITH AN EMBARGO AGAINST IRAN? I DON'T

UNDERSTAND THE SPIN-OFF.

A. I DON'T KNOW THAT I WOULD INTERPRET FOR THEM I JUST SENSED THAT THEY ARE AWARE OF THE INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN THOSE TWO ISSUES, JUST AS WE ARE AWARE OF THE INTERCONNECTION BETWEEN WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND GOING ON IN IRAN AND, FOR THAT MATTER AFGHANISTAN. THAT IS, ALL OF THESE ISSUES HAVE A STRAIN OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON LOCAL GOVERNMENTS.

Q. ON ARMS CONTROL, YOU DESCRIBED A WORK PROGRAM THAT SEEMED ENORMOUSLY AMBITIOUS, AT LEAST IN VERIFICATION, BUT YOU DID NOT DETAIL PROGRESS IN SPECIFICS THAT HAS BEEN DETAILED BEFORE. DID YOU SPEND MOST OF YOUR TIME TRYING TO MAP OUT THE WORK PROGRAM AND NOT WORRY ABOUT FURTHERING SUB-LIMITS AND ALL THE OTHER THINGS?

A. AFTER THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT IT BECAME CLEAR THAT MOST OF THE THINGS THAT REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED DEPENDED REALLY UPON VERIFICATION. SO THE WHOLE QUESTION OF MOBILES DEPENDS ON VERIFICATION, PROBLEMS OF ALCMS ARE CLOSELY RELATED TO VERIFIABILITY FROM SLGMS AND ENTIRELY DEPENDENT ON VERIFICATION.

AND IN ORDER TO GET SOMETHING DONE ON VERIFICATION, THIS IS THE MOST COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT PART OF THE PROBLEM, AND CERTAINLY THAT WAS TRUE IN INF. THOSE WERE THE THINGS WE WERE DEALING WITH UP TO THE VERY END, AND IT WAS OUR VIEW THAT THE OBJECT

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UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 10 MOSCOW 04061

STATE FOR PA AND PA/PRESS

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT

OF THE GAME WAS TO GET INTO THE DETAILS OF VERIFICATION EARLY. YOU REALLY DO NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU ARE DOING FULLY IN VERIFICATION UNLESS YOU CAN DEAL WITH THE DETAILS. SO WE THOUGHT THE MAIN OBJECT OF THE GAME WOULD BE TO GET AGREEMENT NOW WITH THE SOVIETS THAT WE WOULD START TO WORK ON THE DOCUMENTS WHICH INVOLVE EXCHANGE OF DETAILED INFORMATION AND START RIGHT AWAY ON THAT. AND THAT IS WHERE OUR MAIN FIX WAS.

IN OTHER WORDS, THERE ARE THREE PRINCIPLE PROTOCOLS INVOLVED IN BOTH VERIFICATIONS, AND WE AGREED THAT WE WOULD RIGHT AWAY TABLE THE BASIC FRAMEWORK OF ONE OF THOSE BY THE END OF THE WEEK, AND WE WOULD START TO TRY TO GET THE INFORMATION BEFORE THE MARCH MEETING AND TRY TO GET ALL THREE OF THEM IN GOOD SHAPE BY THE NEXT MEETING. IF WE CAN GET THEM INTO GOOD FORM.

Q. WHAT WAS OUR MAIN OBJECT?

A. THIS HAS TO DO WITH THE MOU, THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MOU.

Q. WHAT WOULD BE INCLUDED IN AN MOU? IN SUCH THINGS AS FURTHER NARROWING DIFFERENCES ON SUB-LIMITS, NARROWING DEFINITIONAL THINGS ON BINDING COUNTING RULES, SLCMS.

A. ALL OF THOSE AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH. WE REALLY WENT IN DEPTH, BUT I WOULDN'T SAY WE SETTLED THEM, ANY OF THOSE IN ADDITION TO THOSE WE SETTLED BEFORE. THIS, AS I SAY, MOST OF THOSE, IN FACT ALL OF THEM, ARE RELATED TO THE QUESTION OF GETTING THE VERIFICATION THINGS IN BETTER SHAPE.

Q. CAN YOU GIVE US AN ASSESSMENT OF HOW IMPORTANT YOU FEEL IT IS TO JUST MAP OUT A WORK PROGRAM AS AMBITIOUS AS THIS FROM THE PAST TREATIES THAT YOU HAVE.

A. I THINK BOTH SIDES WERE DETERMINED THAT IF AT ALL POSSIBLE WE WOULD GET A START AGREEMENT DONE BY THE TIME OF THE SUMMIT, AND THAT THE WHOLE OBJECT OF THIS EXERCISE IS TO BE ABLE TO DO THAT. AND IN ORDER TO DO THAT, WHAT IS THE LONG POLE IN THE TENT? THE LONG POLE IN THE TENT IS THE VERIFICATION AND THE DETAILS THEREOF SPECIFICALLY, AND THAT IS WHY WE ADDRESSED OURSELVES TO THE LONG POLE IN THE TENT.

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Q. ON A COUPLE OF THE SPECIFICS, DID YOU NARROW THE DIFFERENCES ON THE ALCM COUNTING RULE AT ALL? DID THE SOVIETS DROP THEIR DESIRE TO INCLUDE CONVENTIONAL ARMS SLCMS, DID YOU GET ANYWHERE ON THESE POINTS?

A. ALTHOUGH WE MADE SOME PROGRESS, I WOULDN'T SAY THAT WE SETTLED IT.

Q. ON THE COUNTING RULE?

A. ON THE COUNTING RULE I DO NOT THINK WE SETTLED IT, BUT WE MADE PROGRESS.

Q. AND WHAT ABOUT THE CONVENTIONALLY ARMED SLCMS? DID THEY KEEP THAT ON THE TABLE?

A. I WOULD SAY THAT THEY KEPT IT ON BUT WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT FROM OUR STANDPOINT IT WAS NOT ON THE TABLE.

Q. NOW ABOUT SUBLIMITS?

A. WELL, AS I SAY, MOST OF THE SUBLIMITS WE HAVE GOTTEN AGREED BEFORE. I THINK WE MADE PROGRESS ON THE REMAINING QUESTIONS OF SUBLIMITS. WE MADE PROGRESS ON THOSE, BUT WE DIDN'T NAIL IT DOWN.

Q. DID THE THIRTY-THREE HUNDRED FIGURE CHANGE AT ALL?

A. NO, THAT IS STILL ON THE TABLE.

Q. THE BASIC SDI DISPUTE, ANYTHING ON THAT? THEY ARE DEMANDING LIMITS ON RESEARCH, WE ARE SAYING

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STATE FOR PA AND PA/PRESS

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT

THEY CANNOT HAVE THEM? DID THAT GO ANYWHERE?

A. WELL I THINK WE NARROWED THE DIFFERENCES THERE, ALTHOUGH I WOULD NOT SAY WE SETTLED ANY OF THOSE THAT WERE STILL OUTSTANDING. BUT TO MY MIND IT LOOKS MORE FAVORABLE.

Q. SINCE WE ARE AT A DISADVANTAGE NOT HAVING SEEN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE YET, -- JOINT STATEMENT I MEAN, -- IS THERE SOME WAY YOU CAN BE ANY MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT HOW THOSE DIFFERENCES WERE NARROWED? OR IS IT GOING TO JUMP RIGHT OUT AT US WHEN WE READ THE TEXT OF THIS THING. IS IT GOING TO SAY, "THERE IT IS BY GOLLY?"

A. I DO NOT THINK IT IS GOING TO JUMP RIGHT OUT AT YOU.

Q. WELL COULD YOU HELP US BY BEING MORE SPECIFIC THEN, PLEASE?

A. I DON'T WANT TO GO BEYOND WHAT THE SECRETARY SAID, -- HE SAID HE DIDN'T WANT TO MAKE UNCLEAR WHAT IS NOW CLEAR. I THINK I WOULD MAKE IT EVEN MORE UNCLEAR THAN HE WOULD.

Q. IS IT GOING TO BE CLEAR IN WRITING IN THE STATEMENT OR IS IT CLEAR IN AN UNDERSTANDING?

A. I DO NOT WANT TO GO BEYOND WHAT HE SAID ON THAT.

Q. CAN YOU TELL US WHAT WERE THE PROBLEMS, THOUGH, THAT YOU TRIED TO DEAL WITH ON THIS, HE TALKED ABOUT PROBLEMS THAT HAD ARISEN SINCE WASHINGTON ON THIS.

A. PROBLEMS HAD ARISEN SINCE WASHINGTON AS TO THE LANGUAGE WHICH WAS AGREED ON IN WASHINGTON, BUT WE GOT THAT STRAIGHTENED OUT. I THINK THAT EVERYBODY NOW IS TOGETHER ON EXACTLY WHAT THE LANGUAGE WAS AND THAT WE COULD BOTH JUST STICK TO THE LANGUAGE OF THE WASHINGTON JOINT STATEMENT.

A. LET ME HELP YOU ON THAT. THAT IS ALL YOU ARE LIKELY TO SEE IN THE JOINT STATEMENT -- THE AGREEMENT TO USE THE LANGUAGE FROM THE JOINT STATEMENT IN WASHINGTON.

Q. SO WE AGREED TO DISAGREE.

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A. I'M NOT GOING TO COMMENT ON THAT, I'M TRYING TO HELP ON THE QUESTION OF WHAT IS GOING TO JUMP OUT AT HIM.

Q. HAVE YOU AGREED ON WHAT "AS REQUIRED" MEANS?

A. WE DID NOT DISCUSS THAT.

Q. YOU DID NOT DISCUSS THAT?

A. NO, WE AGREED THAT SENTENCE REMAINED JUST AS IT WAS AND CONTINUES TO BE AGREED.

Q. YOU HAVE NOW HAD ONE OF THE THREE MEETINGS WHICH PRESUMABLY AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL IS GOING TO BE TAKING PLACE BETWEEN NOW AND THE SUMMIT MEETING, WHENEVER THAT IS. AFTER THE FIRST ONE OF THESE THREE MEETINGS, WHICH WAS THE LAST TWO DAYS, WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A START TREATY BY THE TIME OF THE SUMMIT IS MORE PROBABLE - LESS PROBABLE - NOW DOES IT AFFECT THE CHANCES FOR THIS RESULT?

A. ALL I CAN GIVE YOU IS MY APPRAISAL, AND I WOULD SAY IT IS MORE PROBABLE THAN I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BEFORE I CAME TO THIS MEETING. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT YOUR VIEW IS.

A. I AGREE WITH THAT.

Q. WHAT IS THE BASIS FOR THAT? YOU HAVE NOT REALLY GIVEN US ANYTHING TO GRAB ON TO IN TERMS OF UNDERSTANDING WHERE YOU STARTED FROM AND WHERE YOU ENDED UP AT.

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SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT

A. AS I SAID TO BEGIN WITH, WE CONSIDERED THE LONG  
POLE IN THE TENT TO BE THIS VERIFICATIONS PROBLEM  
AND THAT IS REALLY WHAT.

Q. CAN YOU GIVE US ANY DETAILS ON WHAT THE  
SPECIFIC ISSUES ARE THAT YOU RESOLVED, ASIDE FROM  
THE WORKING GROUPS TO DRAFT DOCUMENTS?

A. ALL I CAN TELL YOU IS THE MAIN TASK WAS TO  
RESOLVE THAT AND GET THEM TO AGREE - THAT THIS IS  
WHAT WOULD BE DONE.

Q. CAN YOU GIVE US AN EXAMPLE OF NOW, IF YOU  
EXCHANGED THIS INFORMATION MOBILES, IT HELPS  
RESOLVE THE ISSUE OF MOBILES?

A. IT CERTAINLY DOES IF YOU KNOW MORE ABOUT  
EXACTLY WHERE THEIR FACILITIES ARE, WHERE THEIR  
BASES AND FACILITIES ARE AND THE NUMBER OF ALL  
THESE THINGS, CERTAINLY IT HELPS YOU RESOLVE THESE  
ISSUES.

Q. AND SO THAT IS THE INFORMATION YOU HAVE AGREED  
TO EXCHANGE?

A. THAT IS NOT ALL OF IT, NO. BUT MORE THAN THAT  
IT

A. THERE IS NO AGREEMENT TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION.

A. IT IS AD REFERENDUM AT THIS MOMENT.

Q. LET'S CLARIFY THAT. WE ARE CONFUSED. WHAT IS  
THE NOW WORK SCHEME OUT OF THIS?

A. IT GOES THIS WAY: THERE ARE THREE DOCUMENTS  
THAT SOMEBODY HAS TO START WORK ON. THREE SEPARATE  
DOCUMENTS, THEY'RE DESCRIBED FUNCTIONALLY AS TO  
WHAT THEY DO DEALING WITH -- INSPECTION,  
ELIMINATION OR CONVERSION. THE THIRD DOCUMENT IS  
AN MOU WHICH WILL LOOK LIKE THE ONE THAT IS IN THE  
INF TREATY THAT HAS GOT ALL THE NUMBERS AND THINGS  
OF THAT SORT ON IT. BUT WE JUST SIMPLY HAVE NOT  
BEEN ABLE TO GET AN ANSWER BACK FROM THE SOVIETS TO  
THE SPECIFIC REQUEST THAT WE NOT ONLY PUT THE LEGAL  
LANGUAGE IN, AND THE TECHNIQUE LANGUAGE IN, BUT  
THAT WE ALSO BEGIN TO PUT THE NUMBERS IN. AND THAT  
IS NOT AN ISSUE IT IS SIMPLY...IT'S LIKE THE JOINT  
STATEMENT PROBLEM - TODAY IS ARMED FORCES DAY, AND  
PEOPLE WHO WOULD MAKE THESE DECISIONS ARE BUSY. WE  
EXPECT A REPLY.

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Q. BEFORE THE TRIP YOU SAID THAT YOU WERE WAITING  
FOR THE SOVIETS TO COME UP WITH VERIFICATION  
SCHEMES ON MOBILES AND SCIMS. DID THEY DO THAT?

A. WE DISCUSSED THIS -- YES, THEY CAME UP WITH -  
THEIR IDEAS.

Q. DID THEY SOUND FEASIBLE?

A. SOME OF THEIR IDEAS, BUT WE HAVE GOT TO DO MORE  
EXCHANGE. WE HAVE GOT TO DO MUCH MORE WORK ON THAT.

Q. YOU REMAIN UNCONVINCED THAT THEY CAN BE  
VERIFIED, OR DO YOU THINK NOW THAT THERE IS A  
POSSIBILITY?

A. THERE IS A POSSIBILITY, YES.

Q. DID WE COME UP WITH SOME IDEAS OF OUR OWN ON  
THAT SUBJECT?

A. WE HAVE BEEN WORKING ON IT.

Q. BUT DID WE EXCHANGE ANY THOUGHTS WITH THEM?

A. NO.

Q. IS THIS RELATING TO THE MOBILES SPECIFICALLY OR  
TO THE SCIMS?

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5744

UNCLAS SECTION 86 OF 18 MOSCOW 84861

STATE FOR PA AND PA/PRESS

E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: OVIP ISHULTZ, GEORGE P.  
SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT

A. THE QUESTION RELATED TO MOBILES.

Q. CAN THOSE OF YOU WHO WERE IN THE GORDACHEV SESSION TODAY RUN DOWN WHAT WAS COVERED? WE DO NOT HAVE AN IDEA OF WHAT WAS COVERED AND SOME OF THE DYNAMICS OF THAT DISCUSSION.

A. LET'S SEE IF I CAN TAKE IT FROM THE TOP. I AM HAVING TROUBLE STAYING AWAKE. AS USUAL, THE SECRETARY MADE A SORT OF PRESENTATION TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY ON THE RESULTS AND CONTENT AND THEMES OF HIS MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNAZDE, AND OF COURSE SHEVARDNAZDE WAS ALSO THERE SO SOME OF THE EXCHANGE WAS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND SHEVARDNAZDE AS HE ELABORATED A BIT ON WHAT THEY HAD BEEN DISCUSSING. THEY WENT OVER EFFECTIVELY THE ENTIRE AGENDA.

IT BEGAN AS ALWAYS, WITH THE SECRETARY TALKING ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND THAT MOVED INTO A DISCUSSION BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY ON CHANGE WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. HIS SENSE OF HOW THINGS THAT AFFECT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE BEING TOUCHED UPON AS REFORM TAKES PLACE, AS HE SEES IT TAKING PLACE. THEY WENT FROM HUMAN RIGHTS TO THE ARMS CONTROL ITEMS AND THEY WENT RIGHT DOWN THE LIST FROM START, REPORTING ON THIS AGREEMENT (INF). I AM SORRY THE SECRETARY GAVE A REPORT ON HOW THINGS ARE GOING WITH RESPECT TO ADVICE AND CONSENT FROM THE SENATE AND HIS THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE RATIFIED AND THEN MOVED TO START.

HE TALKED ABOUT--YOU WILL NOTICE IT IN THE JOINT STATEMENT, IF WE EVER GET ONE BEFORE WE LEAVE MOSCOW--THE EMPHASIS ON VERIFICATION AS A WAY TO TACKLE THESE VERY, VERY DIFFICULT PROBLEMS AND THE AGREEMENT THEN TO INSTRUCT NEGOTIATORS TO DEVELOP, IT WILL BE THE WORK, TO DEVELOP THESE THREE DOCUMENTS AND A REVIEW THEN OF THE IMPACT OF THIS KIND OF WORK ON THE REMAINING ISSUES THAT ARE THERE. THE SCLMS, ALGM COUNTING RULES, MOBILES. THEY DISCUSSED CV, THEY TALKED ABOUT NUCLEAR TESTING AND THE PROGRESS THAT IS BEING MADE THERE ON JOINT VERIFICATION EXPERIMENTS AND THE WORD THAT WE HAD ALREADY HAD IN GENEVA BEFORE WE CAME HERE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD BE WILLING TO TAKE A LOOK AT PROTOCOL ON VERIFICATION AGAIN.

THE EXPERIENCE WITH INF WHEN THEY REVIEWED IT, HAS  
BEEN SO INSTRUCTIVE FOR ALL OF US ON VERIFICATION

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THAT WE SEE THAT THIS IS A WAY YOU HAVE GOT TO GET  
TO THESE ISSUES. VERIFICATION WITH RESPECT TO THE  
TWO TREATIES THAT ARE OUT THERE -- THE '74 AND '76  
TREATIES -- TO SEE IF WE COULD DEVELOP THE  
PROTOCOLS THAT WOULD GO WITH THEM IN THE MONTHS  
AHEAD.

I HAVE MENTIONED CW. WE TALKED, IT WAS AGREED WITH RESPECT TO THE CONVENTIONAL STABILITY TALKS (THESE ARE THE TWO MEN REALLY TALKING BACK AND FORTH, USING CONSECUTIVE TRANSLATION -- BY THE WAY -- NOT SIMULTANEOUS) THAT THE WORK FOR THAT WAS IN VIENNA AND THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO GET A CONVENTIONAL MANDATE. BUT WE POINTED OUT AS WE ALWAYS DO, THAT THAT MANDATE CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED IN THE CONTEXT OF A BALANCED OUTCOME FOR ALL OF THE VIENNA TALKS. MIKE WAS THERE, AND PAUL -- I WANT TO MAKE SURE I HIT THEM ALL ; I THINK THAT IS THE ARMS CONTROL AGENDA--INF. START.

THE MOOD REALLY HAS NOT BEEN DRAMATICALLY DIFFERENT  
OVER THE OCCASIONS THAT WE HAVE SPOKEN TOGETHER.  
THERE HAS DEVELOPED A WAY OF TALKING WITH EACH  
OTHER. THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO KNOW THE ISSUES, WHO  
KNOW THE ISSUES IN BREADTH AS WELL AS DEPTH. THE  
GENERAL SECRETARY IS A MAN WITH A VERY REAL  
INTEREST IN THEM. HE IS VERY WELL SCHOOLED IN  
THESE ISSUES AND TALKS ABOUT THEM IN A VERY  
INFORMED WAY, AND OBVIOUSLY ALL OF US WERE  
INFORMED. I THINK HIS WHOLE TEAM WAS INFORMED. IT  
WAS A SERIOUS KIND OF A DISCUSSION AND VERY FULL.

Q. ARMS CONTROL AND HUMAN RIGHTS--WHERE DID YOU GO FROM THERE?

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5745

UNCLAS SECTION 07 OF 10 MOSCOW 04061

STATE FOR PA AND PA/PRESS

E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)

SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT

A. THEN WE STARTED FROM THE TOP ON REGIONAL ISSUES AND THEN WENT INTO THE SAME TOPICS THAT WE HAD COVERED. IF YOU ARE LOOKING FOR SOME KIND OF COLOR, LET'S SAY THE GENERAL SECRETARY CHIDED BOTH MINISTERS, ASKED WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PROGRAM THAT LEAD TO WORKING PAST MIDNIGHT THE NIGHT BEFORE AND SUGGESTED WE, (WHOEVER IT WAS) BE REPLACED. (LAUGHTER)

Q. WHO WAS IT? SO WHEN IS SHEVARDNAZE LEAVING?

A. WELL, THEY LAUGHED ABOUT IT BUT THEN THEY DID JUST AS THEY DID ON START--THEY WENT RIGHT THROUGH ALL OF THOSE ISSUES. HAD A LONG DISCUSSION ALONG THE LINES THAT MIKE HAS ALREADY TALKED ABOUT. BILATERAL QUESTIONS DID NOT COME UP BECAUSE THOSE ARE MOVING ALONG.

Q. THEY ARE IN SUCH GOOD HANDS. (LAUGHTER)  
WHAT REGIONAL ISSUES DID MR. GORBACHEV DEAL WITH?

A. AFGHANISTAN, THE GULF, THE MIDDLE EAST.

Q. WHAT DID HE SAY ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST, IF WE CAN GET INTO THAT. DID YOU HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SECRETARY GOES NOW OFF TO THE MIDDLE EAST THIS WEEK WITH GORBACHEV IN SUPPORT OF WHAT HE IS DOING OR HOSTILE TO WHAT HE IS DOING?

A. I THINK HE INDICATED THAT HE WELCOMED A VISIT BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE. AS YOU WOULD EXPECT, THEY HAVE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN THEIR CONCEPT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. IT WAS MAINLY IN THE NATURE OF THE SECRETARY EXPLAINING THE NATURE OF THE IDEAS THAT HE HAS PUT INTO PLAY.

Q. SUCH AS?

A. IN THE PAST THESE EXCHANGES BETWEEN GORBACHEV AND SHULTZ HAVE AT TIMES HAD SOME SURPRISES, NUMBER ONE, AND SOME HEATED MOMENTS, NUMBER TWO. THAT DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE. . . ALSO, IN THE PAST GORBACHEV HAS APPARENTLY SIGNED OFF AND HELPED BREAK THROUGH IMPASSES. THAT ALSO DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE--IT IS MORE OF A REPORTING SESSION THAN BREAKING THROUGH ANY BARRIERS.

A. WELL, EACH OF THE MEN WHO WERE THERE IS AN

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EXPERT IN A PARTICULAR FIELD. MY CHARACTERIZATION WOULD BE THAT THERE WERE NO IMPASSES TO BE RESOLVED. WE ARE IN A PROCESS THAT HAS BEEN GIVEN A VERY, VERY STRONG IMPULSE AS THE RESULT OF THIS MEETING HERE. IT PICKS UP THE PACE, BUT IT ALSO FOCUSES IT ON THESE VERY SPECIFIC TASKS AND IS GOING TO SEND THE NEGOTIATORS BACK TO GENEVA WITH REAL THINGS TO DO AND REAL COMMISSIONS TO CARRY OUT. THE MINISTERS PLAN TO MEET AGAIN IN MARCH. THE DATES ARE NOT AVAILABLE AND NEED TO BE CHECKED AGAINST CALENDARS, BUT I WOULD EXPECT IT WOULD BE AROUND THE THIRD WEEK IN MARCH IN WASHINGTON, THE 22ND AND 23RD.

Q. SPEAKING OF THAT, BY THE WAY, DID GORBACHEV COMPLAIN AT ALL THAT THE SOVIETS SEEM TO BE GETTING CUT OUT OF THE MIDDLE EAST BY THIS NEW INITIATIVE? THAT IS, IT SEEMS TO BE GOING AROUND THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IDEA AND BACK TOWARDS BILATERAL?

A. I WOULD PUT IT JUST IN TERMS OF REMINDING EVERYONE OF THE CENTRAL ROLE THEY ASSIGN TO THE CONFERENCE, THE KIND THEY HAVE BEEN PROMOTING FOR SOME TIME. HE DID, I THINK, ALSO ASSERT A CONVICTION WITH WHICH THE SECRETARY AND ALL OF US ARE IN AGREEMENT, THAT ANY FORWARD MOVEMENT REQUIRES A BALANCE IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL CONCERNED PARTIES. THAT'S A USEFUL PRECEPT--PUTTING IT INTO ACTION IS A HARD JOB.

Q. WAS THERE ANY EFFORT DURING THE TWO DAYS OF TALKS TO PINPOINT A SUMMIT DATE? OR DO YOU SENSE THE SOVIETS ARE RELUCTANT TO DO THAT JUST YET FOR SOME REASON?

A. THERE WAS NO EFFORT TO PINPOINT THE SUMMIT

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5746

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STATE FOR PA AND PA/PRESS

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TAGS: OVIP (SHULTZ, GEORGE P.)  
SUBJECT: BACKGROUND PRESS BRIEFING TRANSCRIPT

DATE. THERE WAS A DISCUSSION STILL IN TERMS OF THE LAST HALF OF 1988, BUT TO PINPOINT IT, THE FIRST HALF OF 1988. BUT IN TERMS OF SAYING THIS DATE OR THAT DATE, IT WAS NOT DONE. THERE WAS A DISCUSSION OF THE WAY THE CALENDAR LOOKS AROUND THE END OF MAY AND BEGINNING OF JUNE, BUT IT WAS NOT DISCUSSED FORMALLY. GORBACHEV NEVER MENTIONED IT. WE WERE NOT EXPECTING IT.

Q. YOU SAID THAT WE WOULD SEE, IT WAS ASSUMED.

A. YES, IT WAS AN ASSUMPTION, BUT I KNOW THE QUESTION BEFORE WE CAME WAS, 'DO YOU EXPECT A SUMMIT DATE?' WE BRIEF BY SAYING NO, WE DO NOT EXPECT A SUMMIT DATE. WE DO NOT HAVE ONE. WE DID NOT ASK FOR ONE, AND THEY DID NOT OFFER ONE. IN THE COURSE OF A LOT OF DISCUSSIONS DOING THE PLANNING--LIKE HOW MUCH TIME WE HAVE--PEOPLE WERE ALL USING THE SAME AMOUNTS OF TIME, THREE OR THREE AND A HALF MONTHS OR AROUND THE END OF MAY. THAT KIND OF THING WAS USED, BUT IT WAS JUST NOT A TOPIC AND WAS NOT TREATED AS A TOPIC.

Q. DO THE SOVIETS HAVE IN THEIR MIND ANY PRECONDITIONS BEFORE THEY ARE READY TO SET A SUMMIT DATE?

A. NO.

Q. WAS THERE ANY DISCUSSION AT ALL--ASIDE FROM THE ISSUES AND THE RESULTS THAT MIGHT ACCRUE AT THE SUMMIT--OF THE NATURE OF THE SUMMIT? WAS THERE ANY INVITATION, FOR EXAMPLE, TO VISIT SOMEPLACE ELSE?

A. WE REALLY DID NOT DO SUMMITS.

Q. ROZ, YOU SAID THERE WAS NO ACRIMONY, I BELIEVE, IN THE DISCUSSIONS, BUT THE SECRETARY SAID CENTRAL AMERICA WAS DISCUSSED. THE LAST TIME HERE THAT WAS A SUBJECT OF ACRIMONY WITH SHEVARDNADZE AND DOBRYNIN. WHAT HAPPENED ON CENTRAL AMERICA?

A. THAT TIME WAS FRANK CARLUCCI AND DOBRYNIN. CENTRAL AMERICA DID NOT COME UP WITH GORBACHEV. THEY DID THE THREE, THEY DID AFGHANISTAN AND SO ON.

Q. HE WAS INCLUDING THE WHOLE .

A. IT WAS MENTIONED. I WOULD NOT SAY THAT THERE

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WAS ACRIMONY. I HAVE HEARD SOME REALLY TOUGH EXCHANGES, AND I HAVE HEARD SOME EMOTIONAL EXCHANGES, BUT I HAVE NOT HEARD ACRIMONIOUS EXCHANGES IN ALL OF THE TIME WE HAVE BEEN DOING THIS. THERE WAS NONE OF THAT. THERE WERE NO HEATED DISCUSSIONS.

Q. AND . . . SENSED NO MOVEMENT.

A. ON WHAT?

Q. ON THEIR POSITION ON CENTRAL AMERICA OR SUPPORT OF MANAGUA.

A. IT WAS A STANDARD POSITION. THERE WAS ONLY A BRIEF DISCUSSION, AND THEY AFFIRMED INTEREST IN THE ARIAS-GUATEMALA PLAN. THERE WAS A RECOLLECTION OF THEIR COMMENT ABOUT REDUCING DOWN THEIR SUPPLIES OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND RECOLLECTION THAT PRESIDENT ARIAS HIMSELF ENDORSED THAT IDEA, BUT THAT WAS ABOUT IT.

Q. ONE MORE ON AFGHANISTAN. AS YOU TALK, AND AS THE SECRETARY TALKED, IT SOUNDED AS IF YOU WERE NOT UNSUBSCRIBING TO THE PAKISTANI IDEA OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT BEFORE A WITHDRAWAL AGREEMENT IS SIGNED IN GENEVA. IS THAT THE CASE?

A. IT IS JUST THAT EVERYONE AGREES ON THE UTILITY, BUT THEY ALSO AGREE THAT IT IS UP TO AFGHANS AND THE QUESTION IS, CAN IT BE DONE? AND THAT IS SOMETHING

Q. WOULD YOU BE PREPARED TO TELL THE PAKISTANIS THAT YOU THINK IT IS NOT A GOOD IDEA TO DEFER THE SIGNING OF A GENEVA ACCORD PENDING SUCH A COALITION?

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